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Moreover, the horrors of war have been tremendously increased by the use of more effective implements of destruction. The next war, if one should be permitted, will surpass in horror even that from which we have just emerged.

GERMANY'S GRATITUDE to the American Relief agents working in Germany was well expressed by President Ebert in a letter sent April 9 to Mr. Herbert Hoover, head of the relief work in central and eastern Europe. He said:

"It is with regret I learn the American Relief Administration has decided to cease the sale of food tickets and the distribution of food packages at the end of April. With this, the work of sincere philanthropy which you created in Europe's most troubled days comes to an end.

I feel compelled to express to you on this occasion the sincere thanks of the German nation for the help which you brought to numerous distressed families and the mothers and children of Germany. Through your admirable organization you have shown the way in which the feelings of charity which prevailed in the American nation could be put into practice. The German nation will not forget the great work of charity which became known throughout the world under your name.

The bonds of humanity which in times of most grievous distress were woven by the charitable acts of the nations will grow ever stronger and will contribute toward promoting mutual international understanding and help bring about the world rehabilitation so urgently required.

By collaborating in this constructive activity you have rendered a service that will long survive the period of your organization.

AS A ZIONIST and not as a scientist and philosopher did Albert Einstein primarily come to the United States in mid-April; but his reception by "intellectuals" was more fraternal than by American supporters of the Zionistic movement, as he and Prof. Chaim Weizmann found out after several days of negotiations. The American leaders, including Judge Brandeis, of the U. S. Supreme Court, insist that if the Jews of the United States are to continue to be the main givers of funds, they must have more to say about their distribution than is agreed upon under the scheme for the Keren Hayesed, or World's Foundation Fund. Moreover, the Americans wish to diminish the "donation" side of American activity and put emphasis in the future on the investment side of such sums as are raised here. Differences of European and American psychology, of class sympathies, of German and of Russian antecedents, enter into this controversy, which, if it is not "composed," will cripple from the start the financing of the Zionist State—under a British mandatory—in Palestine, with its large and already hostile Arabian population.

THE VATICAN HAS NO REPRESENTATIVE in Washington deputed to serve as an intermediary with the government, and the United States has no representative in Rome delegated to negotiate with the Vatican. Whether or not the political influence of the rapidly growing Roman Catholic population of the Republic will some day be able to induce a change of the American attitude, time will tell. Public sentiment would

not sanction it now, and there is considerable keenness in the watch kept on Congress and the White House by the aggressively Protestant majority lest action be taken. Rumor having credited President Harding with the intention of acting, he issued, on May 2, the following statement:

"Many inquiries have come to the President relative to a contemplated nomination of a diplomatic representative to the Vatican, and the President has thought it best to answer all of them by the public statement that no consideration has been given to such a step, and there will be no occasion to consider it unless Congress by the enactment of law provides for such representation. The President does not understand that any such proposal has been made to Congress."

THE ALAND ISLANDS dispute between Sweden and Finland, left to investigation by a commission of the League of Nations and final award by that body, has probably been settled in favor of Finland, assuming that the League Council, when it meets in Geneva in June, ratifies the unanimous report of the commission. The latter body, which has just made public its findings, recommends that the islands remain under Finnish sovereignty, but with full guarantees safeguarding the rights, personal and property, of the Swedish inhabitants. It is held that the prior right of Finland to the islands is based on a tenure of more than 100 years' possession. The scheme for making the islands an independent sovereignty is rejected as impracticable.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS: A PERSONAL NARRATIVE. By *Robert Lansing*. Houghton-Mifflin Company, New York. Pp. 280 and appendix. \$3.00.

Here is a book of unvarnished facts about the Peace Conference in Paris. It has already produced a mélange of views and emotions. Some do not understand how Mr. Lansing could ever have gone to Paris, others how he could have remained, when the falsity of his position there was so notorious. There is an impression in some quarters that Mr. Lansing was playing a farce, and that "to the bitter end." One reviewer considers that Mr. Lansing reveals himself as accepting and acquiescing in a position that stultified all his judgments." While all classes of commentators find in the book most important side lights upon our American political system as well as upon the happenings of Paris, some agree with the Harvard professor who finds in it a self-exposure of "an impotent and inadequate Secretary of State." Most of the reviews familiar to us agree, however, that Mr. Lansing's judgment opposing Mr. Wilson's personal attendance at the Paris Conference was sound, and that he revealed no little courage in protesting to the President. All agree that he has exposed the truth about the mess in Paris, and that "without rancor and without self-sparing." He has done that. The writer of these lines was in Paris during practically the entire time covered by Mr. Lansing's book. He knows that Mr. Lansing has painted with fidelity the scenes he witnessed. Mr. Lansing saw from the beginning Mr. Wilson's mistaken course and tried to steer him away from the rapids he willfully chose. In the case of practically every divergence of opinion between Mr. Lansing and Mr. Wilson, Mr. Lansing was right and Mr. Wilson was wrong. A few of us in Paris knew this to be true at the time; subsequent events have demonstrated it beyond doubt. Mr. Wilson's League was an attempt to set up a League to Enforce Peace, "an instrument of the mighty to check the normal growth of national power and national aspirations among those who have been rendered impotent by defeat."

May 8, 1919, Mr. Lansing wrote these significant words in his diary: "This war was fought by the United States to destroy forever the condition which produced it. These conditions have not been destroyed. They have been supplanted by other conditions equally productive of hatred, jealousy, and suspicion." Mr. Lansing saw that the League was simply an alliance of five great military powers for the purpose of maintaining by force a condition created by force. It was a course built on "the shifting sands of self-interest." He saw Mr. Wilson surrendering his fourteen points when that lugubrious thing was happening. He saw international democracy give way before international autocracy. There is a no more ironical arraignment of the Paris fiasco than the six appendices appearing laconically at the end of the book without comment. Simply to read the titles of these revealing documents is to sense the tragedy that was Paris. They are: Appendix I. The President's original draft of the Covenant of the League of Nations, laid before the American Commission on January 10, 1919. II. League of Nations (plan of Lord Robert Cecil). III. The Covenant of the League of Nations in the Treaty of Versailles. IV. The Fourteen Points. V. Principles declared by President Wilson in his address of February 11, 1918. VI. The articles of the Treaty of Versailles relating to Shangtung.

Mr. Lansing has given the most authentic picture of the Peace Congress thus far in print. He advised President Wilson conscientiously and wisely. Whether or not Mr. Lansing should have resigned long before he did; whether or not he should have gone to Paris or remained there, are matters that do not interest us. That his advice was ignored, his grasp of international affairs left out of the count—these we now know were a part of the political debacle of Versailles.

MODERN DEMOCRACIES, By *James Bryce*. Macmillan Co., New York City. Two volumes. \$10.50 a set.

Freed from official responsibilities during the World War and finding relief from the ethical and spiritual strain of the strife by resort to creative scholarship, Mr. Bryce (dubbed Viscount) has been able to complete a comparative study of the workings of contemporary democracy. The book will have even wider circulation throughout the world than did his "American Commonwealth." Its scope is broader, but its readability is quite as unusual as was that of the earlier work. The same remarkable acquisitive power, based on an exceptionally acute inquisitive technique, is disclosed, personal observation and correspondence and interviews with informed "nationals" of the countries described giving him data supplementing that to be found in books. Using these facts, he generalizes like a veteran in co-ordination, and like a sage who in his own lifetime has seen nations come and go and "heroes" flit across the political stage and pass into oblivion.

This is not the place to dwell at length on the main thesis of the book, but rather to call attention to certain *obiter dicta* as to humanity's attitude toward war in general and toward the World War in particular. Christianity's teachings as to war, he asserts, have never been practiced as yet by governments. War and the fear of war are the enemies of the small States, preservation of which in security and legitimate nationalism is so essential to civilization's advance. Fusion of race stocks on a large scale and to an extent not now visualized may occur; but even with "assimilation of language, ideas and habits, though it may extinguish race enmities, need not make for peace, either in nations or between nations." Democracy as a form of society "has brought no nearer friendly feeling and the sense of human brotherhood. . . . Freedom has not been a reconciler. Neither has it created good will and a sense of unity and civic fellowship within each of these peoples. . . . Liberty and equality have not been followed by fraternity." Even in the best democracies, vital decisions, including those of war and of peace, are usually determined by the few.

Democracy's future depends upon man's future religion and upon the prospects of human progress in intellectual and ethical power; and events since August, 1914, are not encouraging. Nothing in the race's history has equaled the futility of the ends achieved by the deaths of millions of

men, women, and children; for the "disasters to the victors are only less than those brought to the vanquished." The late war has made it clear that "human passions have been little softened and refined by the veneer of civilization that covers them; human intelligence has not increased, and shows no signs of increasing, in proportion to the growing magnitude and complexity of human affairs."

Mr. Bryce strictly adheres to the rôle of a reporter and describer and does not venture into the field of prophecy, which is specially unfortunate, for it would be very illuminating to have this experienced historian and publicist indicate just what form the religion of tomorrow should take and just how man is to find adequate leadership in salvaging a world which "overweening military ambition, the passion of nationality, and an outbreak of vengeful fanaticism from small but fiery sections of the industrial population"—a woeful trinity—have brought to the verge of chaos. He is quite sure that such victory as man may win over himself in the future must come through a democracy; but it must be a more creative, positive type of rule of the many.

For journalists and authors and other persons who shape public opinion through the printed page, some of the most sobering portions of this book will be those in which the power and responsibility of the press are discussed. Mr. Bryce is one of those critics who demand stricter social supervision of a too often irresponsible power, and he by no means sides with the traditional, individualistic, libertarian theory of Anglo-American journalism.

THE MIRRORS OF DOWNING STREET: SOME POLITICAL REFLECTIONS. By *a Gentleman with a Duster*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London. Pp. 171.

Speculation as to the author of this candid, searching, and, on the whole, somber-toned series of indictments of thirteen contemporary British statesmen is rife; it may be A. G. Gardiner, who excels in this sort of portraiture; but rumor credits it to Harold G. Begbie. Whoever he is, he is of Puritan ancestry, is much out of sympathy with conditions in British society that make such leaders as he depicts possible, and he undoubtedly, also, is of the older Liberal type, and of a school that is passing, as latter-day Radicalism rises to grapple with the merged Tory-Liberal defenders of privilege, political and economic.

The author's motive is purification of the national life; hence, if he gives pain by his criticism, he pleads justification in social welfare's primacy over individuals' ease in Zion and their self-complacency. He wants the Premier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the independent Cecils, Mr. Asquith, Lord Northcliffe, and Winston Churchill to see themselves in a dustless mirror, for he detects "signs of self-regarding public men in whom principle is crumbling and moral earnestness is beginning to mold." Contemporary British political and commercial life seem to this critic to be too pragmatic. He would recall the leaders to John Morley's dictum, that "right and wrong are in the nature of things. They are not words and phrases. They are in the nature of things, and if you transgress the laws laid down, imposed by the nature of things, depend upon it you will pay the penalty."

Unlike many books of this kind, didactic and polemic in their temper, this one has attributes of style and insights that are none the less true because intuitive and somewhat rhetorically expressed. American literature and politics alike suffer for lack of precisely this sort of book. We are too thin-skinned to suffer public dissection of our political idols. It is a pleasure to know that a firm of New York publishers next autumn will send forth a similar series of studies of our national leaders, so that tinsel may be separated from the gold and the pseudo from the real.

NATIONALITY AND ITS PROBLEMS. By *Sidney Herbert*. E. P. Dutton & Co. Pp. 170.

In this comparatively brief study of the acute issue between nationalism and internationalism that the war has demonstrated and post-war diplomacy even more clearly disclosed, this professor of the University of Wales has provided for the lay reader an excellent book, rid of legal-